

Of Peasants and Settlers: Ideals of Portugueseness, Imperial Nationalism and European Settlement in Africa, c. 1930- c.1945

Márcia Gonçalves

Institute of Contemporary History – New University of Lisbon

Abstract:

This article examines policies and ideas of European settlement in Africa through the lens of imperial rhetoric and nationalist imaginations in Portugal during the first decades of Salazar's dictatorship. Even though European settlement in Africa was under discussion since Brazil's independence, the debate was invigorated in the 1930s. This article will place the renewed interest within the wider context of transnational migration, world economic crisis and inter-European competition for colonial dominance before the Second World War. Although European settlement was perceived as necessary both in terms of domestic social regulation and international competition at the time, state-sponsored settlements in Portuguese Africa were not a reality until the worldwide process of decolonization had started. On the contrary, not only did Portuguese political elites not invest in settlement schemes but they actually adopted measures to curb migration to the colonies up until 1945, contradicting their imperialist rhetoric at home. I will argue that the contradiction between rhetoric and practice needs to be analysed in light of the growing desire to intensify control over space and people in European settlements in Africa. Barriers to block undesirable migrants from the metropole were only one part of the process of forcing an idealised vision of Portugal and Portugueseness into reality in both the colonies and the metropole. This article concludes that policies and ideas of European Settlement cannot be dissociated from the anti-urban rhetoric and anti-modernising agenda of *Estado Novo*.

Keywords: European settlement, nationalism, imperial rhetoric, Portuguese *New State*, migration

Introduction

After the recognition of Brazil's independence in 1825, the idea of creating a 'New Brazil' in Africa began to take shape in Portugal. Primarily fuelled by commercial companies, it found resonance within political circles. In the view of the minister of Colonies in office in late 1835, the Viscount of Sá da Bandeira, European settlement in Africa was vital to compensate the Portuguese economy from the damage caused by the secession of the former colony.¹ Yet, advocates of migration-oriented settlement colonialism like Sá da Bandeira were met with resistance from those who favoured an exploitation-oriented occupation of Africa.²

Both groups had access to political power, which was constantly changing hands. From the end of the Civil War (1828-1834) to 1930, more than 100 different governments took office in Portugal. The country experienced several successful and attempted coups d'état, as well as revolts and tumults. The constitutional monarchy gave place to a republican parliamentary regime – the so-called First Portuguese Republic – in 1910. In 1926, the latter was replaced with a military dictatorship, in line with the two previous but short-lived authoritarian interludes in early 1915 and from December 1917 to December 1918. Bringing together a heterogeneous group of non-aligned conservative republicans, royalists of different varieties and radical nationalists, the movement behind the overthrow of the First Portuguese Republic soon became afflicted with internal struggles for power and was unable to clearly set out common political aims and objectives. The uncertainty of the future direction of the military dictatorship dissipated in 1930 when the then minister of Finance, António de Oliveira Salazar, consolidated his position within the government: supervising his colleagues'

portfolios and with a solid personal power base, Salazar had gathered the necessary conditions to set about establishing the *Estado Novo* ('New State', 1933-1974).

In view of the political and social instability between Brazil's independence and 1930, European settlement in the African colonies was not a chief priority topic on the political agenda during this period. The few settlement projects that had left the drawing board reflected the views of those in authority at the time of their implementation rather than a clear national policy guideline.³ In the 1930s the debate on European settlement in Portuguese Africa gained a new momentum, attracting unprecedented attention beyond colonial circles. This article will first introduce the national and international framework of this renewed interest in European settlement in Africa, placing it within the wider context of transnational migration, world economic crisis and inter-European competition for colonial dominance before the Second World War. Although European settlement was perceived as necessary both in terms of domestic social regulation and international competition at the time, state-sponsored settlements in Portuguese Africa were not a reality until the 1950s. This article will look at the tension between *Estado Novo*'s imperialist rhetoric and European settlement practices, exposing its contradictions. I will show how these contradictions were related to the desire to intensify control over space and people, preventing the settlement of undesirable population groups that could undermine the coloniser's prestige. Finally, this article will attempt to demonstrate that European settlement was conceived only in terms of a socially conservative ideal of Portugueseness, grounded on an ideology of romanticised rural spaces.

Between Closed and Open-doors

Several related circumstances contributed to the renewed interest in European settlement. Chief among these was the increasing concern with population growth in mainland Portugal, as well as with the potential for conflict caused by the rise of rural unemployment, landlessness and poverty.⁴ Although none of these problems was new, they had been mitigated by emigration. From 1890 to 1930 nearly 1.5 million of Portuguese left their homeland, mainly to Brazil and the USA.⁵ Both destination countries gradually adopted restrictive immigration legislation. In the USA, the Immigration Act of 1929 limited the entrance to 150,000 new migrants per year, of which only 440 could be Portuguese in accordance with the strict national quotas established in 1921 and amended in 1924.⁶ In Brazil, the newly established dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas suspended the issuing of new visas for foreigners travelling in third class, unless they held a certified letter of invitation, in December 1930.⁷ A system of national quotas was introduced in 1934.⁸ Even though linguistic and cultural affinity granted the Portuguese migrants an advantage over migrants from other backgrounds in Brazil, the number of new immigrants allowed per year remained low.⁹ Moreover, by then an appalling vision on the effects of restrictive migration legislation had been prolifically spread. Portuguese population growth amounted to 1.3% per year in the 1930s, as in the previous decade, but alarming estimations that circulated in the mainstream press conveyed the impression that the growth rate had drastically accelerated.¹⁰ The advantages and pitfalls of directing the existing migration flows to Portuguese Africa had been discussed since the mid-nineteenth century. Yet, as these migration flows were barred at their usual destination, directing them to Portuguese Africa became increasingly seen as the necessary solution for surplus population.

The renewed interest in migration and settlement was also fuelled by anxiety about an ‘alien invasion’ in Portuguese Africa, especially Angola. The number of foreign settlers – particularly Germans, Italians, Belgians and Poles – had substantially increased since the mid-

1920s.¹¹ As the countries of origin of the most sizeable foreign communities were strongly affected by the Great Depression and American countries had closed their doors to immigration, it was feared that this migrant flow could further accelerate in the near future. The effects were widely discussed in colonialist circles. The economic disadvantages of losing control over the most fertile soils and regions advantageous to European settlers' acclimatisation were evident. However, the major concern was related to the loss of political privileges and cultural influence in the colonies. The need to safeguard Portuguese colonial rights and the "Portugueseness" of the territories and its European and African population was enthusiastically debated during the Colonial Congress in 1930.¹²

In the following years, the distrust of settlers from other European origins grew deeper chiefly due to the discussion on the redistribution of colonies. Rumours about the existence of secret negotiations involving Britain, France, Italy and Germany to appease the latter's colonial claims had multiplied since the initial talks of the Four-Power Pact took place in Rome in early 1933. Although Germany demanded the return of its former colonies – then League of Nations' mandates administered mainly by Britain and France –, an alternative colony to be created at the expenses of Portuguese Angola and Belgian Congo was presented and discussed in the press. Soon the redistribution of African possessions left the realm of rumour. In 1937, the newly created League of Nations' Committee on Raw Materials recommended a freer circulation of capital, goods and labour in colonial territories and the end of colonial protectionism in order to overcome the then existing imbalance in access to raw materials, markets and outlets for surplus population.¹³ The idea of an open-door policy in Africa was backed by the British Labour Party, which was also part of Chamberlain's National Government then in power. Despite rejecting any transfer of territories to Germany, the Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions of the Labour Party had suggested 'a real experiment of direct League administration in some selected area' in Africa. The transference

of colonial territories from national to international government, it was argued, would eliminate ‘the distinction between satisfied and unsatisfied Powers.’¹⁴

The end of the Second World War brought new challenges to reinvigorate and legitimise colonial rule in the eyes of the colonised that were common to all European colonial powers. Yet, on the eve of the conflict, the Portuguese – as the Belgians – already faced the need to reinvigorate and legitimise their colonial rule in the eyes of the other colonisers to counteract proposals for the internationalisation of their largest colony. Increasing the number of national settlers was crucial in this process in both countries.

Changing Attitudes towards the Empire: Rhetoric vs. Action

As Vita Foutry has shown, the Belgian government encouraged emigration to Congo from the mid-1930s. The Bureau for Colonisation was created with that aim in mind in January 1937. Later that year, an immigration and colonisation fund was set up in order to support the establishment of new agricultural enterprises in the Congo. The campaign to promote European settlement with Belgian nationals aimed to increase the number of Europeans in Africa, ensuring the predominance of Belgians in comparison to other Europeans and reducing the number of unemployed in the metropole. It benefited from an expanding colonial propaganda apparatus devoted to change metropolitan attitudes towards the empire and to excite colonial vocations.¹⁵

In Portugal, too, colonial propaganda was boosted in the 1930s, especially after Armindo Monteiro was appointed as the minister of Colonies (1931-1935).¹⁶ Although the association between colonialism and nationalist discourses was not new, the new minister took the galvanisation of the Empire and the colonial idea to a new level of rhetoric designed

to reach a growing and wider audience.¹⁷ The discourse of *Estado Novo*'s political actors falls in line with the triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric theorised by Levinger and Lytle, juxtaposing visions of a glorious past, a degraded present and a rehabilitated future through collective action.¹⁸ In brief, the Age of Discoveries had been the foremost expression of the virtues and heroic spirit of the 'Portuguese Race'. This glorious era had been followed by a period of degradation and decadence caused by the penetration of foreign ideas, leading to the abandonment of the imperial mission. However, a greater future could be achieved under *Estado Novo*'s political guidance by reversing the conditions that have been responsible for degrading the nation. Following the example of their ancestors in the Discoveries Age, the Portuguese should turn to the Empire once again: this move was the key to national regeneration in economic, geopolitical and even spiritual terms. As Armindo Monteiro put it, 'the colonies can give us everything – from the collective pride, which is what makes a People great, to the certainty of employment, the glory of the achievements, wealth, well-being, and strength'.¹⁹ Also Salazar considered the colonies as 'the greatest schools of Portuguese nationalism', claiming that first-hand contact with them was a tonic for patriotism during an interview for the widely read *Diário de Notícias*. It is worth quoting at length:

Most Army officers [and] all of those in whom it is necessary to keep the cult of the Patria and the Race's pride alive should go to the colonies. (...) If we want to be a great colonial country [and] see Angola as a Greater Portugal, we have to change both [our] methods and mentality: we must go to our colonies as someone who is not leaving one's homeland, as someone who is not going abroad.²⁰

The intersection between *Estado Novo*'s rhetoric and action was complex, though. There was a clear discrepancy between the fervent appeals to 'drive our life to the colonies'²¹ and the reality of the policies regarding migration to the colonies and settlement adopted by the regime.

First, the Portuguese government did not conduct any project of European settlement in any of the colonies in the 1930s and 1940s. Francisco Vieira Machado (minister of Colonies, 1936-1944) had outlined a broad project of European settlement in Angola in 1939.²² The bill was submitted for appreciation to the Corporative Chamber (*Câmara Corporativa*, a consultative, non-binding chamber of the Parliament) and the High Council for the Empire (*Conselho Superior do Império*, also a consultative, non-binding body). Even though it was generally applauded in its intentions, Vieira Machado's project was never promulgated. During the discussions in both consultative institutions, some members voiced their criticism against a model of settlement entirely based upon the adoption of state-directed policies. The 'excesses' in the proposed model were a matter of concern: there was excess in the selection of settlers, excess in the state's support given to settlers, and, most of all, excess in expenditure.²³

Second, the Portuguese government did not grant wide institutional support to any private initiative project of European settlement in any of the colonies either. The lack of governmental support hindered the development of communities of European settlers in Portuguese Africa. Although a few spontaneous settlements materialised in Angola,²⁴ other private initiative attempts were doomed to failure from the very start due to the lack of initial capital. In spite of some creative efforts to circumvent the problem,²⁵ the only significant settlement project put into practice in this period was directed by a large capitalist corporation: the Benguela Railway Company. With the endorsement of the Portuguese government, the Benguela Railway Company took responsibility for establishing agricultural settlements along its rail line in the Angolan Central Highlands. The terms of the project, which was arranged in 1935, were extremely positive for the Portuguese government.²⁶ The government committed to make the future agricultural parcels around the railway available to the Benguela Railway Company. It also paid for settlers' passages from the metropole to

Angola. In turn, the Benguela Railway Company was entirely responsible for all the organisation of the settlement and for providing all the necessary assistance from the moment the settlers landed, such as transport in Angola, accommodation, medical care, education or technical support for agricultural. In this way, the governmental responsibility and investment in the Benguela Railways Company' settlement project were insignificant.

Third, the Portuguese government did not facilitate free or spontaneous settlement (the so-called *colonização livre*) until the aftermath of the Second World War. On the contrary, it precluded it in two ways: 1) control over migration to the Portuguese colonies was centralised, becoming tighter and 2) economic policies introduced by the 1930 Colonial Act, according to which the colonies could not count on financial assistance from the metropole, did not create pull factors to attract metropolitan people. Salazar had persevered with austerity measures as the only acceptable solution for the economic crisis since he first took office at the Ministry of Finances in 1928. Targeting Portugal's longstanding national debt, which had worsened during the First World War and weighted heavily on its underdeveloped economy, the former Political Economy Professor had quickly received national and international recognition.²⁷ Colonial finances offered a particular challenge to Salazar's plans. During the First Republic, the Portuguese central government devolved more power to colonial administrations. The position of governor-general gave place to the high commissioner: besides being allowed to rule by decree and controlling the armed forces stationed in the colony under his administration, the latter was also granted unprecedented financial autonomy and thus authorised to raise loans without consulting the metropolitan government. Even though high commissionership was limited to Angola and Mozambique, the effects were sizable. The modernising and developmental project initiated by high commissioner Norton de Matos in Angola (1921-1923) – of which European settlement was central – was built on loans in hard currency that were unsustainable. Angola's deficit was out of control, a situation

that the creation of a new currency for Angola – the so-called *angolar* – on the initiative of high commissioner Vicente Ferreira (1926-1928) did not improve, let alone resolve. On top of that, the demand for colonial raw materials decreased after the Wall Street Crash in 1929. While making colonial governments solely responsible for assuring balanced budgets without assistance from the metropole, the Colonial Act of 1930 re-established administrative centralization and introduced limitations on foreign loans to the colonies.²⁸ Defining land settlement schemes, providing assisted passages from the metropole, building settlers' homes or granting installation allowances, creating transportation and communication infrastructures, building hospitals or other facilities for medical assistance, building schools or erecting dams to enable agriculture involved capital that the colonies could neither obtain from abroad nor from the metropole. In short, settlement schemes required a substantial investment that was not compatible with Salazar's policies of fiscal restraint. By relying on private initiatives such as the 1935 Benguela Railway Company' settlement scheme – which nevertheless required official approval –, budget balance as imposed by the Colonial Act was not compromised.

The lack of official commitment to accelerate European settlement in Africa before the late 1940s was justified on the grounds of caution. It was repeatedly recalled that Portugal was not a rich country and, therefore, could not spend money on projects without being certain they would succeed.²⁹ From the government's perspective, it was necessary to break with the tradition of improvisation that had been the basis of previous Portuguese settlement experiences. Modern colonisation required a systematic extensive study of the territories for the sake of better planning to avoid repeating the same old mistakes, it was argued. In other words, it required a more scientific approach to colonisation rather than an empiricist one. To be sure, even previous settlement projects backed by scientific studies had turned out to be a failure. Recent experiences in the Angolan highlands were a case in point. Shortly after taking office as colonial governor in Angola in 1907, Paiva Couceiro had appointed a technical

commission for the study of the Benguela plateau and its opportunities for European settlement.³⁰ The findings of this commission, which had been coordinated by physician and naturalist José Pereira do Nascimento, were at the basis of Paiva Couceiro's 1909 and Norton de Matos's 1912 and 1920s settlement schemes. From the first moment, the Portuguese community in Angola discredited José Pereira do Nascimento's study, criticising the author's limited knowledge of the area; Alfredo de Andrade, a geographer and agronomist that had also taken part in the commission, was amongst the most vocal critics.³¹ By the late 1930s, a report for the National Company for Development proved Alfredo de Andrade's initial concerns were right: in spite of the fact that the climate was fit for Europeans, the chosen locations were short in water and/or had soils that were too poor for agriculture.³² Mistakes of the past gave strength to the official position in the face of the many advocates for the immediate occupation of the 'colonisable zones'.

What is remarkable here is that, notwithstanding claiming to be unable to sponsor settlement schemes itself, the Portuguese government devoted much energy in preventing others from taking advantage of this official inertia. The government did not abdicate its special right and advantage in organising and disciplining European settlement in Portuguese Africa. Introducing tighter rules for the approval of the potential settler and blocking private initiatives for the establishment of new settlements were predicated on underlying assumptions about who was appropriate and desirable for life in the colonies and how the 'new Portugal' in Africa should be created. As such, creating obstacles to hinder European settlement in the African colonies did not denote indifference but rather entailed an intensification of discipline and control over colonial space and people in white nuclei in the tropics. It was, thus, part of a process of forcing an idealised vision of a 'new Portugal' in Africa into reality in a context of authoritarianism in which the State saw itself as the sole legitimate agent to direct the political, economic and social life of the nation.

Controlling People and Space

In 1930, a year before being nominated minister of Colonies, Armindo Monteiro visited Angola as a representative of the ministry of Finances in order to study the economic crisis in the colony. It was his first time in Luanda. His first impressions were of astonishment and revulsion, as he reported to his chief, Salazar. In the letter, he grumbled about the state of the public accounts he was auditing. He lamented the effects of the revolt led by a group of autonomist settlers against the colonial governor earlier that year, which he said could still be felt.³³ He mentioned rumours about foreign citizens prospecting the colony's mines and about German, Italian, and Polish farmers in Benguela region hoisting their flags and speaking their languages only, as if they were not in a Portuguese territory. Yet, his main complaint was Luanda's population, who he described as 'bad-looking [and] bad-minded'. Armindo Monteiro expressed horror at the sight of convicted deportees (*degradados*) sent from Portugal. He blamed them for 'misleading the people and undisciplining the Black'. The common settler was not spared criticism: in Monteiro's view, they resembled 'the barbers of Portugal's villages' and did not give a good image of the Portuguese either. Deportees and unsophisticated and illiterate settlers were blamed for the backwardness of Portuguese colonial rule in Luanda.³⁴

As minister of Colonies, Armindo Monteiro intended to rectify this situation. First, the deportation of convicts to Angola from the metropole was eradicated in 1932, even though the colony continued to receive deportees from other non-European provenance until 1954. The motives for putting an end to the centuries-old practice are explained in the preamble of the decree. The deportation of convicts to Angola had high monetary and social costs for both the

metropole and the colony. While the former had to pay for their voyages, the latter received a 'useless mass of population'. Yet, notwithstanding the unfitness for colonisation and amorality of their elements, this mass of population was not considered useless in the metropole. Convicts' labour was a valuable resource for agriculture and forestry in mainland Portugal, even though in Angola their work 'yields little or nothing'.³⁵ In other words, in the metropole, this workforce could be used for works that were reserved to African people in Angola: being a forced agricultural labourer in the colonies, the European would be equated to a native and maintaining racial distinction was of the utmost necessity to keep the European population's prestige.

Second, the ministry of Colonies created barriers to migration of potential settlers to Africa. New migrants had to have the assent of the security agency, which was in line with the measures taken to increase the surveillance of white settlers and repress their independence claims in Angola after the 1930 rebellion.³⁶ Migrants without a guaranteed job at the destination and without a guarantor responsible for paying their return to the metropole in the case of difficult adaptation to the colony were also ineligible. Moreover, illiterate migrants were barred.³⁷ Therefore, the human contingent available for migration from the overpopulated Portuguese rural areas was excluded: prevented from entering Brazil and the USA due to their closed-doors policy, poor farmers were also considered unfit for settlement in the Portuguese colonies.

These measures attracted much criticism in the mainstream press and colonialist circles alike since neither the population surplus in the metropole nor the lack of Europeans in the colonies were alleviated. While for some the selection of settlers was excessive, others believed that it was the State's role to make the typical Portuguese emigrant fit for settlement, investing in their training to overcome their shortcomings.³⁸ Nevertheless, Armindo Monteiro repeatedly defended his reservations about diverting Portuguese migration from its typical

destinations to the colonies. Despite Francisco Vieira Machado's attempt to challenge Portuguese settlement policies, the vision of his predecessor, Monteiro, prevailed after he left the ministry and persisted until the aftermath of the Second World War.

For Armindo Monteiro, the intensification of European colonisation in Angola and Mozambique was neither a solution to increase the value of these territories in the short run nor an answer for unemployment in the metropole. On the one hand, he argued that settlers without capital or qualifications, who were sent to the colonies as part of wide state-sponsored white colonisation projects, would become used to living on subsidies. Having found an easy way to support themselves and their families, they would get lazy. On the other hand, a settler without capital and whose only resource was his ability to work could not compete with Africans, who were more adapted to the tropical climate. The degradation caused by situations of white unemployment would damage the image of the coloniser, undermining the recognition of Europeans' superiority in the eyes of the colonised. Instead of being a useful agent of civilisation of the colonised, if placed in Africa, the Portuguese poor farmer without work would soon become a burden to the state.³⁹ 'Colonisation', as Armindo Monteiro put it, 'is not a form of assistance'.⁴⁰

Colonial elites and political agents in other colonial powers shared Armindo Monteiro's concerns with the presence of 'poor whites'. Ann Laura Stoler has worked extensively on the pliable nature of colonial categories, drawing attention to the complex intersection between race, class, and gender in imperial contexts.⁴¹ Poor whites were liminal figures, remaining in between the divide between colonisers and colonised. Although whiteness in itself 'accrued legislative, regulatory, and cultural substance' in colonial contexts, to use Angela Woollacott's formulation,⁴² belonging to lower social strata weakened the whiteness or Europeanness of the settler. Ultimately, whiteness would be assured not only through skin colour but also through social status. European colonisers adopted a variety of

strategies to regulate lower class Europeans as a measure of social control to avoid potential sources of degeneracy in the colonial context: repatriation, the creation of relief funds or efforts to rehabilitate this population through schooling or psychiatric treatment were amongst them.⁴³ As the problem reached its peak around the world in the 1930s as a consequence of the economic crisis, *Estado Novo* attempted to eliminate it at its root, sturdily limiting the migration towards the colonies in order to prevent the establishment of a Portuguese population that could be a menace for the self-preservation and prestige of colonial order. Therefore, the model settler for Portuguese Africa that the state was willing to support was well defined in official rhetoric: the colonial administrator and qualified technician, who were prepared to rule over African labourers.⁴⁴ They were the ones, it was argued, who were needed to develop Portuguese Africa and prepare it for receiving a surge of European farmers in an undetermined future.

To tackle population growth, unemployment and social conflict in rural areas in the metropole, *Estado Novo*'s government favoured a project to redistribute the afflicted population throughout mainland Portugal rather than colonial settlement. Inspired by Italian fascist policies, the Board for Internal Colonisation (*Junta de Colonização Interna*) was created in 1936.⁴⁵ The plan was to move landless farmers from the northern provinces (Minho and Trás-os-Montes) to the South (Alentejo), where large estates and the proletarianisation of rural labour predominated, increasing cultivated areas and crop diversity. It entailed the creation of a new – and improved – sort of Portuguese village: the similar detached farmhouses, which were to be inhabited by young families, were part of a well-planned complex that included church, school and health facilities; from health and hygiene to the arable land and buildings' exposure to elements, nothing was to be forgotten. As Maria Elisa Silva noted, there was a sizeable gap between plans for internal colonisation and what was accomplished with these policies.⁴⁶ Despite the failure of agricultural settlements led by the

Board for Internal Colonisation, they remained the model for settlement in Africa when the Portuguese authorities felt compelled to intensify European settlement due to the international decolonisation wave in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The first state-sponsored settlement scheme with metropolitan people established during the *Estado Novo* – the Cela Settlement – was located in Amboím highlands, in Angola. It was the brainchild of agronomist engineer Ilídio Barbosa, who had completed his studies at High Institute of Agronomy (*Instituto Superior de Agronomia*).⁴⁷ Barbosa had joined the Board for Internal Colonisation as a trainee before graduating, writing a final report on rural housing in an Alentejo parish. In accordance with Salazarism's ideology, Barbosa exalted the role of the family not only as the basis upon which social organisation was built but also as the purest and most important source of workforce in rural societies.⁴⁸ His views on the importance of house planning for family unity, societal cohesion and public order would later inform his project for colonial settlement in Angola.

Ilídio Barbosa conceived the idea of 40 villages or hamlets for European families in Cela, even though most of them were never completed. Although the Cela settlement did not receive its first settlers until 1953, it was to some extent an anachronism that had survived the post-war modernising and developmental agenda for Africa embraced by other colonial powers.⁴⁹ The Cela settlement was constructed around a small town enlighteningly named after Santa Comba Dão, the village where Salazar was born. It was intended to be a reproduction of the metropolitan rural space rather than a mere agglomeration of Portuguese farmers in an African rural space: families of farmers were to be part of peasant communities as similar to the metropolitan ones as possible. Consequently, houses assigned to each family and common buildings resembled rural habitations planned and built in agricultural settlements in the metropole.⁵⁰ Settlers in Cela were provided with a farm of small dimensions upon their arrival. They received seeds and animals, as well as farm implements. The latter

were rudimentary: plough oxen and bullock carts were provided instead of modern tractors. Family members themselves were responsible for the cultivation of their parcel, as a family in the metropole would do, and African labour was not allowed within the settlement.⁵¹ Keeping Africans out of the European settlement would facilitate the transplantation of the rural lifestyle from the racially unblemished metropolitan context to the colonies.

The creation of a racially segregated rural space in a settlement project that began in the 1950s is surprising, considering the appropriation of Gilberto Freyre's *Lusotropicalism* by the Portuguese dictatorship for ideological purposes in the age of decolonisation.⁵² However, it was a key point in the Cela settlement, being another reminiscence of the model of European settlement as it was idealised by *Estado Novo*'s political agents already in the 1930s and 1940s. In fact, racial segregation had been one of the sticking points in the discussion of the aforementioned Vieira Machado's failed project in 1939. Backed by the Benguela Railway Company's reports, the Corporative Chamber concluded that profitability was not possible along the lines proposed by the minister because the workforce of a settler family alone was not enough to assure significant earnings, especially considering that the soils in the locations suitable for Europeans were not the most fertile in the colony and crops required much effort. It was argued that a settler would not become attached to his land in Africa unless he could not only feed his family but also have some revenue that enhanced his prospects for social mobility.⁵³ The view was shared by members of the High Council for the Empire that analysed Vieira Machado's bill. Moreover, they believed that racial segregation was contrary to the Portuguese traditional methods of colonisation, which promoted close contact between the coloniser and the colonised and the civilisation of the latter by direct influence.⁵⁴ However, this close contact was a source of anxiety in itself for the Portuguese authorities.

Building a racially segregated rural space was predicated on the deep-rooted fear that European settlers could degenerate in contact with the de-civilising influence of the colonised. Ensuring the presence of European women would reduce the opportunities for racial miscegenation, assuring the birth of “pure” children and thus avoiding physical degeneration of the Portuguese and preserving the centuries-old characteristics that made them unique.⁵⁵ In accordance with the most influential trends of Eugenics thought in the 1930s and 1940s, miscegenation was rejected as biologically and socially dangerous: the offspring of Europeans and Africans – the so-called *mestiços* – were mentally and physically weaker and unable to fully integrate in either society.⁵⁶ Yet, in the debate on European settlement, sexual encounters between Europeans and African were not the only possible cause of degeneration: it was argued that mere access to African labour could also be a source of moral and social degeneration. On the one hand, settlers with easy access to cheap labour could look down on agriculture as a job for inferior races: they would not exploit their own land and would succumb to laziness, giving a bad example to Africans. On the other hand, a settler who did not look down on agriculture would work shoulder to shoulder with African labourers, creating a sense of racial equality that did not and should not exist. In short, from these perspectives, either idle or hardworking, a settler with easy access to cheap African labour would create racial tensions between the coloniser and the colonised, disrupting the existing colonial order.⁵⁷

Moreover, arguments regarding the economic advantages of using African labour were devalued: profitability was not the most significant concern in *Estado Novo*’s model settlement. It was based on small-scale family farms oriented for minimum profit rather than for the maximisation of settlers’ revenue. Also here, the ideal agricultural settlement in the colonies and agricultural settlements in the metropole followed similar logics. Although the settlement programmes in the two regions differed considerably in scope and effect, they were

grounded on similar ideas of space but also on similar ideas of reproduction of social order: the intent was to improve settlers' general wellbeing but without promoting settlers' social mobility. That is to say, the aim was not to encourage the private pursuit of wealth and create rich farmers, whose interests might clash with the ones of the ruling elite, but rather modest farmers who loved and cared for their land.⁵⁸

Conclusion: Model Settlement and Model Portugueseness

In 1966, American political sociologist Barrington Moore Jr. introduced the concept of catonism in his seminal analysis of the transition from agrarian societies to modern industrial ones, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Catonism – named after the conservative Roman senator Cato the Elder – refers to a complex of ideas drawn heavily on romantic protests against modern industrial civilisation. It contrasts the atomised and disintegrated world of modern urban societies to the organic life of the countryside, praising the virtues of peasant life: its traditional religious piety, its human warmth and, above all, its wholesomeness. Catonism has an anti-intellectual and anti-foreign outlook: the hostility to both intellectuals and foreigners is justified on the grounds of their degenerate influence in society. While talking about the need for a thoroughgoing moral regeneration by returning to healthy rural origins, catonism's function is to justify a repressive social order that supports the position of those in power. Barrington Moore Jr. stressed that catonism was an important component in twentieth-century fascism in both Europe and Asia.⁵⁹ Even though Portugal was not amongst Moore's eight case studies,

his concept of catonism has been rightfully applied to Portugal under *Estado Novo* by sociologist Gideon Sjoberg.⁶⁰

During the Portuguese dictatorship, a romanticised vision of rural life was eulogised as the purest way of living, being an untouched repository of national traditions.⁶¹ Rurality was associated with a set of qualities that were frequently cherished in official propaganda and presented as typical of the Portuguese character: health, vigour, humbleness, tirelessness, modesty, incorruptibility and quietness. On the other hand, urbanity was perceived as de-nationalising and disruptive of the Portuguese traditional social fabric. Salazar played an important role in the promotion of this bucolic ideal of Portugueseness, which Luís Trindade traces back to an enduring conservative literary movement that emerged in the 1890s.⁶² A country man himself, he cultivated a public image of simplicity and aversion to luxury and preached the virtue of the rural life, as well as the evils of urban life, in his public interventions. As he put it in an interview, total misery – in the sense of poverty and mental affliction alike – was a ‘secretion from progress’: it was rarely experienced in traditional peasant societies where ‘the land is a set table’ and ‘natural solidarity’ between community members protected the most disadvantaged. In the cities, he argued, ambition had distanced men from nature and from each other.⁶³

Ideas and practices on European settlement in the colonies in the 1930s and 1940s cannot be understood outside the anti-urban rhetoric and anti-modernising agenda of *Estado Novo*’s catonism. While, for instance, the creation or reform of colonial urban spaces was already a cornerstone of social engineering for power affirmation in the pre-World War I French, Belgian or British empires,⁶⁴ it was not until the mid-1940s that the Portuguese authorities created the Office for Colonial Urbanisation (*Gabinete de Urbanização Colonial*) and started investing in the creation of cosmopolitan, avant-garde colonial cities.⁶⁵ Even though the increase in the number of Portuguese settlers in Africa after 1945 was mainly an

urban phenomenon fuelled by the non-skilled population that Armindo Monteiro's tried to debar after taking over the portfolio of the Colonies in 1931, the model settlement idealised in *Estado Novo* was a rural one.

Ideas and practises on European settlement in the colonies in the 1930s and 1940s were thus closely related to the regime's conservative ideology about how the country was and how it should remain in the future. On the one hand, Portugal was a country with a vast colonial empire and by turning away from the empire the Portuguese would disrespect their global calling to build and civilise new worlds; on the other hand, Portugal was a country whose wealth rested on the contact with the land and losing contact with the agricultural vocation of the Portuguese people was to lose sight of the 'essential' nation. By reproducing metropolitan rural spaces in Africa in order to transplant what was perceived as the best part of metropolitan Portugal – i.e. the part that had not been contaminated by modern urban values – to the colonies, *Estado Novo*'s political elites aimed to bring together these two contradictory and often conflicting views of Portugal and model Portugueseness.

Bibliography:

- AAVV, III *Congresso Colonial Nacional de 8 a 15 de Maio de 1930. Actas das Sessões e Teses*, Lisbon: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1930.
- Ágoas, Frederico, *Saber e Poder. Estado e Investigação Social Agrária nos primórdios da sociologia em Portugal*, PhD diss., FCSH- Lisbon New University, 2011.
- Alexandre, Valentim, 'A Política Colonial em Finais de Oitocentos: Portugal e a Sacralização do Império', In *Velho Brasil, Novas Áfricas. Portugal e o Império (1808-1975)*, 147-162. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2000.
- Alexandre, Valentim, 'A viragem para África' In *História da Expansão Portuguesa, vol. IV*, Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds), 60-87. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998.
- Alexandre, Valentim, 'O liberalismo português e as colónias de África (1820-1839)', *Análise Social*, no 61/62 (1980), 319-340.
- Alves, Vera, "'A poesia dos simples": arte popular e nação no Estado Novo', *Etnográfica* 11, no 1 (2007), 63-89.
- Alves, Vera, 'O Povo do Estado Novo' In *Como se Faz um Povo*, José Neves (ed.), 183-194. Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2010.
- Baptista, Fernando Oliveira, *A Política Agrária do Estado Novo*, Afrontamento: Porto, 1993.
- Baptista, Fernando Oliveira, 'Dos projectos de colonização interna ao capitalismo agrário (Anos trinta – 1974)', *Separata do número especial do Boletim da Faculdade de*

- Direito de Coimbra*, Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1974.
- Bastos, Cristiana, 'Migrants, Settlers and Colonists: The Biopolitics of Displaced Bodies', *International Migration* 46, no 5 (2008), 27-54.
- Barbosa, Ilídio, *A alimentação e a habitação do rural de Amareleja. Subsídios para o seu estudo*, Lisbon, ISA, 1940.
- Barbosa, Ilídio, 'O planalto de Amboím, zona de colonização', *Agronomia Angolana* 6, no.76 (1952), 5-76.
- Bender, Gerald, *Angola under the Portuguese. The Myth and the reality*, Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978.
- Bender, Gerald, 'Planned Rural Settlement in Angola, 1900–1968', In *Social Change in Angola*, F.W. Heimer (ed.), 235–79. München: Arnold Bergstralsser Institut, 1973.
- Borchert, Günter, 'Cela —ein Entwicklungszentrum im Hochland von Angola', *Erkunde* 15 no 4 (1961), 295-306.
- Bortolotti, Lando, 'Il mito della colonizzazione interna in Italia, 1850-1950, *Storia Urbana* XV, no 57 (1991), 88-168.
- Brito, Joaquim Pais de, 'O Estado Novo e a Aldeia mais Portuguesa de Portugal', *O Fascismo em Portugal: Actas do Colóquio Realizado na Faculdade de Letras em Março de 1980*, 511-532, Lisbon: A Regra do Jogo, 1982.
- Bush, Barbara, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain 1919-1945*, London: Routledge, 1999.
- Caldas, João Lemos de Castro, *Política de Colonização Interna. A implantação das colónias agrícolas da Junta de Colonização Interna*, Lisbon: ISA, 1988.
- Callahan, Michael D., *A Sacred Trust. The League of Nations and Africa, 1929-1946*, Brighton-Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2004.
- Campos, 'Uma carta mensal de Portugal para as colónias', *Portugal Colonial* 13 (1932), 1-3.
- Caprotti, Federico, 'Internal colonization, hegemony and coercion: investigating migration to southern Lazio, Italy, in the 1930s', *Geoforum* 39, no 3 (2008), 942-957.
- Castelo, Cláudia, '*O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo*' *O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)*, Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998.
- Castelo, Cláudia, *Passagens para África: o Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (1920-1974)*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2007.
- Castelo, Cláudia, 'Reproducing Portuguese Villages in Africa: Agricultural Science, Ideology and Empire', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no2 (2016), 267-281.
- Castelo, Cláudia, "'Um segundo Brasil ou um terceiro Portugal". Políticas de colonização branca da África portuguesa (1920-1974)', *Travessias. Revista de Ciências Sociais e Humanas em Língua Portuguesa*, no 4/5 (2004), 155–180.
- Cirne, Maria Teresa Filipe, 'Um projecto de colonização portuguesa em Angola nos finais do século XIX (1884)', *Revista de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, no 15 (1998), 497-534.
- Cleminson, Richard, *Catholicism, Race and Empire: Eugenics in Portugal, 1900-1950*, Budapest: CEU Press, 2014.
- Coleção das Leis da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1930, Atos da Junta Governativa Provisória e do Governo Provisório (Outubro a Dezembro)*, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1931.
- Coleção de Leis da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1938, Decretos-Leis (Abril a Junho)*, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938.
- 'Conselho do Império – Parecer nº 40, Colonização Europeia – Processo de consulta nº37', 25th November 1940', *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, no 199 (1942), 13-112.
- Daniels, Roger, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

- Decker, Robert, 'The Visibility of Whiteness and Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1880-1930', *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies* 9, no 1 (2013), 1-20.
- Denis, Jacques, 'Une Colonie agricole européenne en Afrique tropicale: Cela, Angola portugais', *Bulletin agricole du Congo belge* 47, no2 (1956), 387-424.
- Domingos, Nuno and Elsa Peralta, 'A cidade e o colonial' In *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas coloniais e reconfigurações pós-coloniais*, Idem (eds), IX-L. Lisbon: Edições 70, 2013.
- Douglas, R. M., *The labour party, nationalism and Internationalism, 1939-1951*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Elkins, Carole and Susan Pedersen (eds), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, London – New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Feio, Mariano, *As causas do fracasso da colonização agrícola de Angola*, Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1998.
- Ferreira, Vicente, *A Colonização Étnica da África Portuguesa. Estudo Apresentado ao II Congresso da União Nacional*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1944.
- Fernandes, José Manuel, 'Arquitetura e Urbanismo no Espaço Ultramarino Português' In *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. V, Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (eds), 334-383. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998.
- Ferro, António, *Entrevistas de António Ferro a Salazar*, Lisbon: Parceria A.M. Pereira, 2003.
- Fieldhouse, David Kenneth, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Delacorte Press, 1966.
- Fischer-Tiné, Harald, *Low and Licentious Europeans. Race, Class and 'White Subalternity' in Colonial India*, New Dehli: Orient Blackswan, 2009.
- Foutry, Vita, 'Belgisch-Kongo tijdens het interbellum: een immigratiebeleid gericht op sociale controle', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis = Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine*, 1983, 3/4, 461-488.
- Galvão, Henrique, *Angola. Para uma nova política*, Lisbon, Livraria Popuar de Francisco Franco, 1937.
- Galvão, Henrique, *Bases para o Povoamento Europeu nas Colónias Portuguesas*, Lisbon: Ministério das Colónias, 1936.
- Galvão, Henrique, *O Povoamento europeu nas Colónias portuguesas* (Primeira Conferência Económica do Império Português), Lisbon: Ministério das Colónias, 1936.
- Galvão, Henrique, 'Zonas colonizáveis de Angola e soluções aconselháveis para intensificar a sua colonização', *Congressos do Mundo Português*, XV Volume, *Memórias e comunicações apresentadas ao Congresso Colonial (IX Congresso)*, 2nd Tome, II Section, Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940.
- Garcia, José Lima, *Ideologia e Propaganda Colonial no Estado Novo: Da Agência geral das Colónias à Agência do Ultramar, 1924-1974*, PhD diss., Coimbra University, 2011.
- Geraldo, Endrica, 'O combate contra os "quistos étnicos": identidade, assimilação e política imigratório no Estado Novo', *Locus: revista de história* 15, no 1 (2009), 171-187.
- Geraldo, Endrica, 'A "lei das cotas" de 1934: controle de estrangeiros no Brasil', *Cadernos AEL* 15, no 27 (2009), 173-209.
- Governo Geral da Província de Angola, *Breve Notícia sobre o Planalto Colonisavel de Benguella*, Luanda: Imprensa Nacional, 1908.
- Hammerton, A. James, 'Gender and Migration' In *Gender and Empire*, Philipa Levine (ed.), 156-180, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Harper, Marjory and Stephen Constantine, 'A Civilizing Influence? The Female Migrant' In *Migration and Empire*, Idem (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Hattam, Victoria, *In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Home, R. K., 'Town planning and garden cities in the British colonial empire 1910-1940', *Planning Perspectives* 5, no1 (1990), 23-37.

- Jackson, Will, 'Bad Blood: Poverty, Psychopathy and the Politics of Transgression in Kenya Colony, 1939-1959', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39, no 1 (2011), 73-94.
- Jacobson, Matthew Frye, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Kennedy, Dana, *Islands of white: settler society and culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Labour Party – Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, *The Demand for Colonial Territories and Equality of Economic Opportunity*, London, Labour Party, 1936.
- Lambert, David, 'Liminal figures: poor whites, freedmen, and racial reinscription in colonial Barbados', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19, no 3 (2001), 335 – 350.
- Leal, João, "The hidden Empire: peasants, nation-building and the Empire in Portuguese anthropology", In *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*, Shawn Parkhurst, Sharon Roseman (eds.), 35-53, New York: SUNY Press, 2008.
- Leal, João, "“Um lugar ameno no campo”: A Casa Portuguesa', In *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870-1970): Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*, 107-144. Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 2000.
- Levinger, Matthew and Paula Franklin Lytle, 'Myth and mobilisation: the triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric', *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no 2 (2001), 175-194.
- Lobo, Eulália, *Portugueses en Brasil en el siglo XX*, Madrid: Editorial Mapre, 1994.
- Lonsdale, John, 'Kenya: Home Country and African Frontier' In *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, Robert Bickers (ed.), 74-111, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Magalhães, António Miranda de 'Problemas de colonização', *Humanidade*, 1938, 67, 9.
- Mar, Tracey Banivanua and Penelope Edmonds, *Making Settler Colonial Space. Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010.
- Marques, Gilberto, *Africa. Portugal Futuro!*, Lisbon, Edições do Jornal "Africa", 1932.
- Matos, Helena, *Salazar. A Construção do Mito (1928-1933)*, Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2003.
- Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro. *Salazar. A Political Biography*, New York: Enigma Books, 2009.
- Melo, Daniel, *Salazarismo e Cultura Popular (1933-1958)*, Lisbon, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2001.
- Mendes, José, *Laços de Sangue. Privilégios e Intolerância à Imigração Portuguesa no Brasil (1822-1945)*, Porto: Fronteira do Caos e CEPSE, 2010.
- Milheiro, Ana Vaz, *Nos Trópicos Sem Le Corbusier. Arquitectura Luso-Africana no Estado Novo*, Lisboa, Relógio D'Água, 2012.
- Miranda, Sacuntala, 'A Evolução Demográfica' In *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, Rosas, Fernando (ed.), 259-271, Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1992.
- Mizutani, Satoshi, "“Degenerate whites” and their spaces of disorder: Disciplining racial and class ambiguities in Colonial Calcutta (c.1880-1930)" In *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*, Ashwini Tambe and Harald Fischer-Tiné (eds.), 155-191. New York-London: Routledge, 2009.
- Monteiro, Armindo, *Da Governação de Angola*, Lisbon, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935.
- Monteiro, Armindo, 'Directrizes de uma política ultramarina' in *I Conferência dos Governadores Coloniais*, Lisbon, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1934.
- Monteiro, Armindo, 'Inimigos da colonização. Discurso de S. Ex^a o Sr. Ministro das Colónias', *O Mundo Português* 1, no 5 (1934), 193-203.
- Monteiro, Nuno G. and António Costa Pinto, 'Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity', In *Contemporary Portugal. Politics, society and culture*, António Costa Pinto (ed.), 55-72, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mónica, Maria Filomena, "“Deve-se Ensinar o Povo a Ler?” A Questão do Analfabetismo em

- Portugal, 1926-39', *Análise Social*, no 50 (1977), 321-353.
- Moore, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1966.
- Nascimento, José Pereira, *A Colonização do Planalto de Benguela*, Lisboa, J. Rodrigues & C^a, 1912.
- Nascimento, José Pereira, *Relatório da missão de colonização do planalto de Benguela em 1909*, Luanda, Imprensa Nacional, 1910.
- Neto, Maria da Conceição, *In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo (Angola), 1902-1961*, London, PhD diss., SOAS-University of London, 2012.
- Ngai, Mae N., *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens & the Making of Modern America*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Nunes, Maria de Fátima, 'Entre a JEN e o ISA: um eixo colonial na política científica do Estado Novo?', In *A Junta de Educação Nacional e a investigação científica em Portugal no período entre guerras*, Augusto Fitas et al (eds.), 89-112. Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2013.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen, *Kolonialismus. Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, München: Beck, 1995.
- Paulo, Heloísa, *Aqui também é Portugal. A Colónia portuguesa do Brasil e o Salazarismo*, Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2000.
- Pereira, José Pacheco Pereira, *Conflitos Sociais nos Campos do Sul de Portugal*, Lisboa: Publicações Europa América, 1983.
- Pereira, Miriam H.. "Liberdade e contenção na emigração portuguesa (1850-1930)". In *Imigração/Emigração em Portugal. Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre Emigração e Imigração em Portugal. Séculos XIX e XX*. 9-16. Lisbon: Editorial Fragmentos, 1993.
- Piette, Valérie, 'La Belgique au Congo ou la volonté d'imposer sa ville? L'exemple de Léopoldville'. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 89, no 2 (2011), 605-18.
- Pimenta, Fernando Tavares 'Angola's Euro-African Nationalism: the Angolan United Front' in Eric Morier-Genoud (ed.) *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Pimenta, Fernando Tavares, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2008.
- Pinto, António Costa e Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, 'Ideologies of Exceptionality and the Legacies of Empire in Portugal', *Memories of Post-imperial Nations: The Aftermath of Decolonization, 1945-2013*, Dietmar Rothermund (ed.), 97-119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Protasi, Maria Rosa and Eugenio Sonnino, 'Politiche di popolamento: colonizzazione interna e colonizzazione demografica nell'Italia liberale e fascista', *Popolazione e storia* 4, no 1 (2003), 91-138.
- Ramos, Rui, "'Um novo Brasil de um novo Portugal". A história do Brasil e a ideia de colonização em Portugal nos séculos XIX e XX', *Penélope*, no 23 (2000), 129-152.
- Rapazote, J., "'Aldeias-Jardim" no concelho de Montalegre – O projeto da Junta de Colonização Interna para os baldios do Barroso.' *Revista de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território*, no 1 (2012), 207-236.
- 'Report of the League Committee on Raw Materials' in *Bulletin of International News* 14, no 6 (1937), 3-11.
- Ribeiro, Orlando, *A Colonização de Angola e o seu Fracasso*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1981.
- Rocha-Trindade, Maria Beatriz and Jorge Arroiteia, *A Emigração*, Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Judiciários, 1986.
- Rosas, Fernando et al. (eds.), *Armindo Monteiro e Oliveira Salazar. Correspondência Política (1926-1955)*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1996.

- Sasportes, Simão, *A colonização branca e o aumento da população indígena em Angola e Moçambique. Tese apresentada ao primeiro Congresso da Colonização*, Lisbon: Diário de Notícias, 1934.
- Statistical Abstract of the United States*. 1929, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1930.
- Stern, Alexandra Minna, *Eugenic Nation: Faults & Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.
- Silva, Elisa Lopes, 'Time to Settle Down: Property, State and its Subject', *The Making of Modern Portugal*, Luís Trindade (ed.), 178-200. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.
- Silva, Maria Elisa, *A propriedade e os seus sujeitos: colonização interna e colónias agrícolas durante o Estado Novo*, Masters diss., FCSH- Lisbon New University, 2011.
- Simões, Nuno, "Emigração e interesses luso-brasileiros", *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 12th April 1937.
- Sjoberg, Gideon, 'The Rural-Urban dimension in pre-industrial, transitional and industrial societies', In *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, Robert E.L. Faris, (ed.), 127-159. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.
- Stepan, Nancy, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Stoler, Ann Laura (2002), *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2002.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures', *American Ethnologist*, 1989, 16 (4), 634-660.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 'Placing Race in the History of Sexuality' in *Race and the Education of Desire. Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*, 19-54. Durham – London, Duke University Press, 1995.
- Tamagini, Eusébio, 'Os problemas da mestiçagem', *Trabalhos do 1º Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, 39-63. Porto: Edições da 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934.
- Trindade, Luís, 'The system of nationalism: Salazarism as political culture' in *The Making of Modern Portugal*, Idem (ed.), 249-269. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.
- Veracini, Lorenzo, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.
- Wolfe, Patrick, 'Text and Context: Anthropology and settler colonialism', In *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology. The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, 1- 7, London: Cassel, 1999.
- Woollacott, Angela, 'Whiteness and 'the imperial turn'', In *Re-Orienting Whiteness*, Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey and Katherine Ellinghaus (eds), 17-30. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Wright, Gwendolyn, 'Tradition in the Service of Modernity in French Colonial Cities, 1900-1930' In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), 322-345. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

¹See his colonial profitability bill, namely clauses one to three: “Projecto de lei para promover a prosperidade das províncias ultramarinas”, Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM), DIV/3/18/07/13/04, document 1. Valentim Alexandre produced some of the first insights into the idea of “New Brazil”: Alexandre, ‘*O liberalismo português e as colónias de África (1820-1839)*’ and Alexandre, ‘*A Viragem para África*’. See also Ramos, ‘«Um novo Brasil de um novo Portugal»’.

²For a typology of colonies and distinction between settler colonialism and exploitation colonialism, see Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, 11–13 and Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus*, 16–18.

³On the pre-1930 settlement projects, see Castelo, *Passagens para África*, especially 49–54 and 61–80. See also Bastos, ‘Migrants, Settlers and Colonists’ and Cirne, Maria Teresa Filipe, ‘Um projecto de colonização portuguesa em Angola nos finais do século XIX (1884)’.

⁴Pereira, *Conflitos Sociais nos Campos do Sul de Portugal*, 118.

⁵Pereira, ‘Liberdade e contenção na emigração portuguesa (1850-1930)’, 14. See also Rocha-Trindade and Arroeteia, *A Emigração* and Peixoto, ‘*A emigração*’.

⁶‘No. 111. Immigration Quotas and Aliens Admitted and charged to Quotas. By Nationality, Years Ended. 1922 to 1928’ and ‘No. 117. Immigration quotas on basis of national origin’, *Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1929*, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, p. 102 and p.105, respectively. For an evolution of American immigration policies, see Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door*. On eugenics beyond the national quotas system and how it affected southern European migrants and other ‘lesser races’, see Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*; Stern, *Eugenic Nation*; Hattam, *In the Shadow of Race*; Decker, ‘The Visibility of Whiteness and Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1880-1930’.

⁷Decree 19.482, 12th December 1930, *Coleção das Leis da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1930*, Atos da Junta Governativa Provisória e do Governo Provisório (Outubro a Dezembro), Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, vol. II, 82–85.

⁸Geraldo, ‘A «lei das cotas» de 1934: controle de estrangeiros no Brasil’. See also Westphalen and Balhana, ‘Políticas e Legislação imigratórias brasileiras e a imigração portuguesa’; Lobo, *Portugueses em Brasil en el siglo XX*, Mendes, *Laços de Sangue* and Paulo, *Aqui também é Portugal*. On the scientific debates on which the ideology of ‘whitening’ Brazil’s population that inspired these policies was grounded, see Stepan, Nancy, *“The Hour of Eugenics”*.

⁹Article 40th, Decree 406, 4th May 1938, *Coleção de Leis da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1938, Decretos-Leis (Abril a Junho)*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, Vol. 2, 92–103.

¹⁰See, for instance, Simões “Emigração e interesses luso-brasileiros”, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 12th April 1937. The author estimated that half a million Portuguese had been prevented from settling in Brazil between 1930 and 1937 due to closed-doors policies. On Portuguese population growth, see Miranda, ‘A Evolução Demográfica’.

¹¹See the charts about the movement of foreigners in Angola and Mozambique from 1925 to 1947 in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), MU, DGAPC, 1H, nº 1269.

¹²AAVV, III Congresso Colonial Nacional de 8 a 15 de Maio de 1930. *Actas das Sessões e Teses*, pp. CLXI–CLXVIII and CLXXII–CLXXX. Similar concerns prompted a study by the African Commission of the Geographical Society of Lisbon in 1932, see Castelo, *Passagens para África*, 87.

¹³‘The Report of the League Committee on Raw Materials’ in *Bulletin of International News*, 14(6), 1937, 3–11.

¹⁴Labour Party – Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, *The Demand for Colonial Territories and Equality of Economic Opportunity*, 48. See also Bush, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance*, 258–261. Callahan, *A Sacred Trust*, 91, Douglas, *The Labour Party, nationalism and internationalism*, 182–183.

¹⁵Foutry, ‘Belgisch-Kongo tijdens het interbellum’.

¹⁶On the evolution of colonial propaganda in Portugal, see Garcia, *Ideologia e Propaganda Colonial no Estado Novo*.

¹⁷On the empire and nationalist discourses in Portugal from the 1870s onwards, see, for instance, Alexandre, Valentim, ‘A Política Colonial em Finais de Oitocentos’, Monteiro, Nuno G. and

António Costa Pinto, 'Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity, and Pinto, António Costa e Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, 'Ideologies of Exceptionality and the Legacies of Empire in Portugal'.

¹⁸Levinger and Lytle, 'Myth and mobilisation'.

¹⁹Monteiro, 'Directrizes de uma política ultramarina', 30.

²⁰Ferro, *Entrevistas de António Ferro a Salazar*, 84.

²¹Monteiro, 'Directrizes de uma política ultramarina', 29.

²²Vieira Machado, 'Acção Colonizadora do Estado'.

²³For the Corporative Chamber's report, see 'Parecer da Câmara Corporativa sobre o projecto de decreto relativo à colonização de Angola (1939)', Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar (AHP), Secção XXVIII, cx. 16, nº 1 and cx. 16A nº 10. For the Superior Council of Empire's report, see 'Conselho do Império – Parecer nº 40, Colonização Europeia – Processo de consulta nº37', 25th November 1940', *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 199 (January 1942), 13-112. See also AHU, MU, Conselho Superior Colonial - Conselho do Império Colonial (CSC_CIC), 1C, n. 1467-O.

²⁴Such as Hoque settlement, in Huíla highlands, and São Jorge of Catofe settlement, in Amboim highlands; both in the late 1940s. See Ribeiro, *A Colonização de Angola e o seu Fracasso*, and Feio, *As causas do fracasso da colonização agrícola de Angola*.

²⁵For instance, in 1932, a group entitled *Vitália – Society for the Promotion of Colonisation and Progress in Portuguese Africa* tried to raise the necessary funds through an appeal to public subscription and private contribution. Marques, *Africa. Portugal Futuro!*

²⁶Decree 25.027, *Diário do Governo*, 9th February 1935. See also Bender, 'Planned rural settlements in Angola: 1900-1968'.

²⁷On the emergence of Salazar as a national saviour in Portugal due to his budget balance policy, see Matos, Helena, *Salazar. A Construção do Mito*. On international recognition, see Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro. *Salazar. A Political Biography*, especially 46-53.

²⁸Decree no. 18 570, *Diário do Governo*, 8th July 1930. See also

²⁹See, for instance, Armindo Monteiro's inaugural speeches at the Colonial Governors Conference, in 1933, or at the Colonial Exhibition in 1934. Monteiro, 'Directrizes de uma política ultramarina' and Monteiro, 'Inimigos da colonização'.

³⁰Governo Geral da Província de Angola, *Breve Notícia sobre o Planalto Colonisável de Benguela*. The final report was published in 1910: Nascimento, *Relatório da missão de colonização do planalto de Benguela em 1909*. See also Nascimento, *A Colonização do Planalto de Benguela*.

³¹See Neto, *In Town and Out of Town*, 122 (footnote 97) and 124-125.

³²See 'Relatório para a Companhia de Fomento Nacional, escrito após viagem de estudo a Angola em 1939 por Alberto Cardoso Martins e Menezes Macedo' Instituto Nacional de Arquivos – Torre do Tombo (INATT), AOS, CO, UL, 8B, Pt 20, ff. 682 and ss. See also Galvão, 'Zonas colonizáveis de Angola e soluções aconselháveis para intensificar a sua colonização'.

³³Tensions between the progressive and Freemasonry embedded white settlers' community in Angola and the ultra-conservative high commissioner that took office in early 1929, Filomeno da Câmara, had escalated into violence in March 1930. At the origin of the hostility towards Filomeno da Câmara was the lack of solutions for the economic distress experienced in the colony, as well the high commissioner's oppressive rule. See Pimenta, Fernando, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, especially ch.3.

³⁴Letter from Armindo Monteiro to António de Oliveira Salazar, 4th August 1930, in Rosas et al., *Armindo Monteiro e Oliveira Salazar*, 32-35.

³⁵Decree 20.877, *Diário do Governo*, 13th February 1932. See also Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, 57-94.

³⁶On white autonomists in Angola, see Pimenta 'Angola's Euro-African Nationalism: the Angolan United Front'. See also Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*.

³⁷Castelo, *Passagens para África*, 91.

³⁸On the former, see for instance, António Lopes's project on Angola and Mozambique's settlement in *Diário da Manhã*, 21st November 1932, 11; AHU, MU, AGC, 2G, 950 - Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1^a Porto (Congressos) – 'A.A. Lisboa de Lima – A Colonização e o povoamento nas

colónias de Angola e Moçambique' and "Ribeiro da Costa Júnior - Como fomentar com êxito a colonização branca das colónias de Angola e Moçambique"; Sasportes, *A Colonização branca e o Aumento de População Indígena em Angola e Moçambique*. On the latter, see for instance, Magalhães, 'Problemas de colonização' in *Humanidade*, 67 (16th July 1938), 9. Campos, 'Uma carta mensal de Portugal para as colónias', *Portugal Colonial*, 13 (March 1932), 1-3. Galvão, *O Povoamento europeu nas Colónias portuguesas*; Galvão, *Bases para o Povoamento Europeu nas Colónias Portuguesas*; Galvão, *Angola. Para uma Nova Política*, Galvão, 'Zonas colonizáveis de Angola e soluções aconselháveis para intensificar a sua colonização'.

³⁹According to Henrique Galvão, from 1932 to 1936, the state had funded the repatriation of about 300 poor whites from Angola. Galvão, 'Zonas colonizáveis de Angola e soluções aconselháveis para intensificar a sua colonização'. On the problem of poor whites in the colony, see also Neto, *In Town and Out of Town*, 183-186

⁴⁰Monteiro, 'Directrizes de uma política ultramarina', 47.

⁴¹Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*; Stoler, 'Placing Race in the History of Sexuality'.

⁴²Woollacott, 'Whiteness and 'the imperial turn'', 23

⁴³On debates about the poor whites in early nineteenth-century Barbados see Lambert, 'Liminal figures'. On poor whites in Kenya, see Lonsdale, 'Kenya: Home Country and African Frontier' and Jackson, 'Bad Blood'. On India, see Fischer-Tiné, *Low and Licentious Europeans* and Mizutani, 'Degenerate whites' and their spaces of disorder'. On Belgian empire, see Foutry, 'Belgisch-Kongo tijdens het interbellum'. On Dutch Indies, see Ann Laura Stoler's aforementioned works.

⁴⁴Monteiro, *Da Governação de Angola*, 42.

⁴⁵Decree 27 207, *Diário do Governo*, 11th June 1936. On Portuguese internal colonisation, see Baptista, 'Dos Projectos de Colonização Interna ao Capitalismo Agrário', Caldas, *Política de Colonização Interna*; Baptista, *A Política Agrária do Estado Novo*; Ágoas, *Saber e Poder*; Silva, *A propriedade e os seus sujeitos*; Rapazote, "'Aldeias-Jardim" no concelho de Montalegre'. On Italian internal colonisation, see Bortolotti, *Il mito della colonizzazione interna in Italia 1850-1950*, Protasi and Sonnino, 'Politiche di popolamento', Caprotti, 'Internal colonization, hegemony and coercion'.

⁴⁶Silva, *A propriedade e os seus sujeitos*.

⁴⁷On the precursory role of the High Institute of Agronomy's in colonial agronomy research, namely through its Laboratory of Colonial Agricultural and Technology, see Nunes, 'Entre a JEN e o ISA'.

⁴⁸Barbosa, *A alimentação e a habitação do rural de Amareleja*, 104.

⁴⁹On the tension between modernisation and scientific knowledge and political will with regards to European settlement in the Portuguese colonies, see Castelo, *Passagens para África*, 143-153; Castelo, 'Reproducing Portuguese Villages in Africa: Agricultural Science, Ideology and Empire'.

⁵⁰Compare pictures of Cela settlement in Angola (available on <http://actd.iict.pt/collection/actd:AHUC774>) with pictures of Martim Rei settlement in Sabugal, Portugal (available on <http://baimages.gulbenkian.pt/images/winlibimg.aspx?skey=&doc=188538&img=79129>) and of Pegões settlement in Montijo, Portugal (available on <http://baimages.gulbenkian.pt/images/winlibimg.aspx?skey=&doc=188538&img=79125> and <http://baimages.gulbenkian.pt/images/winlibimg.aspx?skey=&doc=188538&img=79126>) (Last retrieved on 10th September 2016.)

⁵¹See Barbosa, 'O planalto de Amboim, zona de colonização'. Orlando Ribeiro noted that quickly the prohibition of using African labour was violated and modernising measures were taken by the settlers' initiative. Ribeiro, *A Colonização de Angola e o seu Fracasso*, 183. See also Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, 104-105; Borchert, 'Cela —ein Entwicklungszentrum im Hochland von Angola', Denis, 'Une Colonie agricole européenne en Afrique tropicale'.

⁵²In short, Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre claimed that, due to historical and cultural reasons, the Portuguese had a capacity to adapt to different climates and cultures, being uniquely open and kind in their treatment of people of other races. See Castelo, «*O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo*».

⁵³'Parecer da Câmara Corporativa sobre o projecto de decreto relativo à colonização de Angola (1939)', AHP, Secção XXVIII, cx. 16, nº 1.

⁵⁴Conselho do Império – Parecer nº 40, Colonização Europeia – Processo de consulta nº37’, 25th November 1940’, *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 199 (January 1942), 39.

⁵⁵Literature about or approaching the civilising influence of female settlers in colonial contexts in other colonial empires is vast. For a short account, see Harper and Constantine, ‘A Civilizing Influence? The Female Migrant’ or Hammerton, ‘Gender and Migration’.

⁵⁶See, for instance, the enlightening paper to the Congress of Colonial Anthropology delivered by, Eusébio Tamagnini the founder of the Portuguese Society for the Study of Eugenics, Professor of Anthropology at Coimbra University and minister of Education (1934-1936). Tamagnini, Eusébio, ‘Os problemas da mestiçagem’. On race-mixing and Eugenics thought in Portugal, see Cleminson, Richard, *Catholicism, Race and Empire: Eugenics in Portugal, 1900-1950*, especially ch. 5.

⁵⁷See, for instance, Galvão, *O Povoamento europeu nas Colónias portuguesas*; AHU, MU, AGC, 2G, 950 - Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1^a Porto (Congressos): ‘A Acção do Estado na obra de colonização Branca’ and Lisboa de Lima and ‘A Colonização e o Povoamento nas Colónias de Angola e Moçambique’; Ferreira, *A Colonização Étnica da África Portuguesa*. See also Vicente Ferreira’s explanation of vote at the Corporative Chamber, ‘Parecer da Câmara Corporativa sobre o projecto de decreto relativo à colonização de Angola (1939)’, AHP, Secção XXVIII, cx. 16, nº 1 and cx. 16A nº 10.

⁵⁸See, for instance, Parliament member and future Subsecretary of State of Social Assistance Joaquim Dinis da Fonseca’s intervention on the debate on unemployment in February 1940. *Diário das Sessões*. Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, 17th February 1940, 307. See also journalist António Lopes’s project on Angola and Mozambique’s settlement published in conservative daily *Diário da Manhã* on 21st November 1932 (p. 11). On *Estado Novo*’s mechanisms to thwart social mobility, see Mónica, ‘«Deve-se Ensinar o Povo a Ler?»’.

⁵⁹Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, 491-496.

⁶⁰Sjoberg, ‘The Rural-Urban dimension in pre-industrial, transitional and industrial societies’.

⁶¹On *Estado Novo*’s bucolic ideals and the cult of rurality, see Melo, *Salazarismo e Cultura Popular*; Brito, ‘O Estado Novo e a Aldeia mais Portuguesa de Portugal’; Leal, ‘Um lugar ameno no campo: A Casa Portuguesa’; Alves, ‘«A poesia dos simples»’; Alves, ‘O Povo do Estado Novo’.

⁶²The *neo-garretismo*, named after the founding father of Portuguese romanticism, Almeida Garrett. For Trindade, Salazarism was ‘to a large extent the political embodiment of the ideological performance of neo-garretism. Trindade, Luís, ‘The system of nationalism: Salazarism as political culture’, 265.

⁶³Salazar in an interview conducted in 1938, compiled in Ferro, *Entrevistas de António Ferro a Salazar*, 172.

⁶⁴Wright, Gwendolyn, ‘Tradition in the Service of Modernity in French Colonial Cities, 1900-1930’; Piette, ‘La Belgique au Congo ou la volonté d’imposer sa ville?’; Home, ‘Town planning and garden cities in the British colonial empire’.

⁶⁵Decree 34.173, *Diário do Governo*, 6th December 1944. On urbanism in the late Portuguese empire, see Fernandes, ‘Arquitectura e Urbanismo no espaço ultramarino português’; Milheiro, *Nos Trópicos Sem Le Corbusier*; Domingos and Peralta, ‘A cidade e o colonial’.